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AUTHOR Kuvlesky, William P.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

Research objectives were to determine the extent to which ethnic variability existed in reference to male and female: occupational aspirations (type, level, and intensity); occupational expectations (type, level, and certainty); and anticipatory goal deflection. Data were derived from surveys of the following rural youth (high school sophomores) samples: (1) 170 male and 215 female Arizona Navajos (1972); (2) 98 male and 94 female East Texas blacks (1972); (3) 148 male and 158 female East Texas Anglos (1972); (4) 178 male and 201 female South Texas Mexican Americans (1973); (5) 15 male and 15 female South Texas Anglos (1973); Chi-square tests were used in each case to determine whether or not any ethnic differences observed were statistically significant. Significant results were: (1) Navajo youth had the lowest level of aspirations and the weakest intensity of desire; (2) Mexican Americans had the highest and strongest intensity of aspiration; (3) Mexican American females had the highest level of aspiration; (4) Mexican Americans had the highest level of status expectations, and Navajos had the lowest level; (5) Anglo expectations parelleled those of the Navajos, and Anglo females had the lowest expectation level; (6) Navajos and Anglos were markedly more certain about occupational expectations than black who were relatively uncertain. (JC)

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ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS PROJECTIONS OF TEENAGE BOYS AND GIRLS: MEXICAN AMERICAN, BLACK, NATIVE AMERICAN, AND ANGLO YOUTH*

William P. Kuvlesky
Texas Agricultural Experiment Station,
Texas A&M University

and

Everett D. Edington
ERIC-CRESS,
New Mexico State University

(With the assistance of Angie Lindley Bain, Research Assistant,
Rural Sociology Department, Texas A&M University)

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Introduction

More than two decades ago, Merton (1957) proposed that the aspirational frames of reference of various types of youth in the U.S. were similar, structured in terms of the "success ethic" and made up of status desires indicative of upward social mobility. To this day, few studies have been designed to test the general validity of this hypothesis as it applies to a range of generally economically disadvantaged ethnic groups. The general purpose of this study is to provide evidence for the evaluation of this hypothesis within the context of comparable data collected during 1972 and 1973 from predominantly disadvantaged rural populations of teenage youth of four ethnic types--Mexican American (south Texas), Black (east Texas), Anglo (east Texas), and Navajo (Arizona). More specifically, the analysis reported involves comparative analysis of several aspects of these youths' occupational status projections.

For years many social scientists and policy makers involved in youth development and education programs attributed the poor success of rural youth and ethnic minority youth to a lack of motivation for social mobility (Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1971:138). It was commonly asserted that their social ambitions were lower than that of other youth--they held low level aspirations and expectations for status attainment. It was theorized that this situation resulted from inculcation of subcultural values that produced personality orientations which worked in opposition to a strong motivation to strive for social mobility; for instance, strong valuation of family, lack of willingness to experience deferred gratification, local community oriented, and a passive, fatalistic orientation toward influencing their own destiny (Kuvlesky and Juarez 1975:243-247; Wright, Salinas, and Kuvlesky, 1973:43-44). Also, for example, Tal

Parsons (1951:199) has theorized at a more abstract level that the way of life of Spanish Americans is characterized by particularistic - ascriptive value patterns as compared with the universalistic - achievement patterns of the dominant society. Similar theorizing, speculation, and conclusions predominate in the literature in reference to Blacks and Native Americans, particularly those residing in rural areas (Hansen, 1970; Rodman, 1963; Yinger, 1960). This "se[redacted]e" or "pathological-subculture" explanation of the relative lack of success of disadvantaged types of youth in attaining social mobility, particularly through the normal processes of occupational attainment, tends to deflect attention away from other factors outside of the disadvantaged groups that may limit or impede opportunities for social mobility - poor quality education, inadequate job placement information, and social discriminiation of one sort or another in initial job placement and then promotion (Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975:280-284).

A thesis offered by Robert Merton sometime ago stands in direct contradiction to the argument that disadvantaged youth fail to achieve social attainment due to a lack of ambition or low-level status aspirations and expectations. Merton proposed in 1957 (pp. 131-139 and 161-170) that most youth of all types and of all social classes, have inculcated the "success ethic" and, consequently maintain high level success goals (i.e., occupational and educational aspirations). In other words, Merton proposes that maintenance of high status attainment goals in a more or less articulated "aspirational frame of reference" approximates a cultural universal in our society, which cuts across class and ethnic distinctions (Merton 1957:131-139 and 171). In more recent times - since the mid-sixties - a number of social scientists have come to support essentially the current applicability of Merton's thesis as a result of their contention

that there has been a "revolution of expectations" among disadvantaged youth in our society (Heller, 1971:13-22; Hughes, 1965; Broom and Glenn, 1965; Dyckman, 1966). It is difficult to determine what historical changes have taken place in status aspirations and expectations of youth due to a lack of any empirical studies on the subject until very recently.[1] Still, with few exceptions, the extensive body of research evidence accumulated over the last ten years on status projections of disadvantaged youth support Merton's general thesis: most disadvantaged youth, including those from rural areas and ethnic minority groups, do maintain high aspirations and expectations for status attainment relative to their families of origin and their realistic chances for social mobility (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975; Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1971; Kuvlesky and Thomas, 1971; Edington, Pettibone, and Heldt, 1975; Crawford, 1975).

The relevance of youth's orientations toward future occupational status is of particular significance for several reasons. First, in a sociological sense occupational status is a central consideration in determining general life style, other social ties, and is considered by most as the central vehicle for obtaining social mobility (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966). In this later sense, it has a directive impact on educational status attainment for many who perceive education as a means to obtaining a desired job type, and, in a similar fashion, also, influences considerations about place of residence location and membership in specific associations and groups. Secondly, the current emphasis on career education, counseling, and etc., has created a need for more information on the vocational aspirations, plans, and orientations of all kinds of youth.

Specification of Research Objectives

The analysis to be reported is guided by a conceptual scheme taking off from Merton's previously noted idea of an "aspirational frame of reference" as modified and specified further by others as described below.

Some time ago Merton proposed that young people maintain a "frame of aspirational reference" composed of personal goals for status attainment as adults (Merton, 1957, pp. 132-133). This mental configuration provides them with a cognitive map that serves to guide anticipatory socialization into adult roles. Ralph Turner (1964) has presented firm documentation for this assertion

Merton conceived of only one frame of status projections, that involving aspirations (desires). However, Stephenson (1957), among others, has demonstrated the utility of thinking in terms of two types of projections: in addition to aspirations, youth maintain a set of expectations (anticipations which often differs from their desires. A conceptual scheme presented by Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), begins with this analytical distinction between aspiration and expectation and provides additional distinctions. The divergenc if any, between the desired and anticipated status objects within a particular area of potential status attainment (i.e., occupation) is labeled "anticipatory goal deflection" (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968). While most past research has focused on projected status attainments, Kuvlesky and Bealer call attention to another analytical dimension of status projections which they call the "orientation element." This idea refers to the strength of orientation that a person maintains toward the status object involved in either aspiration or expectation In reference to aspiration this would be the strength of desire associated with obtaining the status goal specified and is referred to as "intensity of aspirat

(Merton, 1957, p. 171) The comparable element involved in expectation is lab
"certainty of expectation." This scheme has been reported in detail in a nu
of publications and papers, along with empirical evidence supporting the uti
of the analytical distinctions involved (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968; Ohlen
and Kuvlesky, 1968; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975). The analysis of ethnic comp
sons to be described here was structured in terms of the elements of status
projections differentiated in the scheme described above.

Our specific research objectives are to determine, within the context o
our data, to what extent ethnic variability exists in reference to each of
following dimensions of occupational status projections of teenage boys and

(1) Occupational aspirations
    (a) type and level
    (b) intensity

(2) Occupational expectations
    (a) type and level
    (b) certainty

(3) Anticipatory goal deflection

Detailed discussion of the stimulus questions and measurements utilized to
operationalize these conceptual dimensions of occupational status projectio
are provided in Appendix A.

Review of Relevant Research Literature

An extensive review of the relevant research literature turned up only
four studies involving comparative analysis of youths' occupational status
projections from as many as three ethnic groups. Two of these involved
tri-ethnic comparisons of metropolitan youth (Antonovsky, 1967; Crawford,
1975). The other two involved tri-ethnic comparisons of predominantly rura
nonmetropolitan youth (Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1971; Edington, Pettit
and Heldt, 1975). All of the studies cited above, except for Antonovsky's
involved either or both the Texas A&M University and ERIC-CRESS researchers

and were fully comparable in instruments, data collection operations, an measurement categories.

Of course, many studies have been reported dealing with the occupati status projections of White (Anglo) and Black youth (Kuvlesky, 1973; Kuvl and Thomas, 1971) and to a much lesser extent, for Mexican-American youth (Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975); however, very few have been reported on Nati American youth (Stout and Edington, 1974; Edington, Pettibone, and Heldt, 1975). It is often very difficult or impossible to attempt to develop va comparisons across studies involving one or two ethnic groupings due to p lems of conceptual ambiguity, lack of specification of research operation or variability in instruments, measurements or historical period of study (Kuvlesky and Bealer; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975). Consequently, we will concentrate our attention in this review on those few studies cited above involving at least a tri-ethnic comparison of youths' occupational status projections.

The earliest study that we are aware of which was designed for at le a tri-ethnic comparison of occupational status projections of youth was a 1958 investigation carried out by Antonovsky (1967) in a "northern metro- polis" and involving lower class Black, White, and Puerto Rican youth. T data he reports indicates little difference by ethnicity. A more recent study involving a tri-ethnic comparison of metropolitan youth in Galvesto Texas was carried out in 1974 by Crawford (1975) and utilized instruments operations directly comparable to those utilized to produce the data sets involved in our analysis. Crawford (1975) concludes that his "findings indicated that the ethnic groups appeared to be more similar than differ relative to their occupational status projections." He reports a total of statistically significant differences among the three ethnic groups,

regardless of sex, on all dimensions of occupational status projections examined - aspiration and expectation levels, anticipatory goal deflection, intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation (Crawford, 1975:64 an 71). Also, the only significant difference by sex Crawford (1975:66) found was in reference to level of occupational aspirations: girls tended to hav higher aspirations than boys. A study of Mexican-American and Anglo youth carried out by Venegas (1973) in 1973, found that the Mexican-American yout had both occupational and educational aspirations significantly lower than the Anglo youths. However, there were very few in either ethnic group that indicated either an aspiration or expectation for the lower level occupatio categories. Venegas found no significant differences between Mexican-Ameri and Anglo youth on intensity of occupational aspirations, certainty of occu pational expectations, and anticipatory goal deflection.

Let us now examine the two more directly relevant triethnic studies of nonmetropolitan youth carried out in Texas in 1966-1967 and in New Mexico i 1975. Both of these studies used directly comparable instruments and measu ments, and similar data collection operations. A very recent study reporte by Edington and his associates involved five hundred and fifty rural youth in New Mexico: 171 Anglo Americans, 240 Mexican Americans, and 139 Native Americans (Edington, et al., 1975). For both aspirations and expectation there were more similarities than differences. The aspirations of the Angl were highest, with the Mexican Americans next and the Native Americans lowe The same order was true for the occupational expectations, however, the dif ferences were not statistically significant. Rates of anticipatory occupa- tional goal deflection were similar for both the Anglo and Mexican-American youth; however, Native American youth had a lower rate. In summary, the rural Native American youth had both lower occupational aspirations and

expectations than Anglo or Mexican-American youth, and a lower rate of anticipatory deflection than the other groups.

The earlier Texas comparison reported by Kuvlesky and his associat involved Mexican Americans from the "border region" of South Texas, and and White (Anglo) youth from East Texas - all from predominantly rural, metropolitan areas. The authors concluded that generally, for both boy girls, statistically significant ethnic difference existed on the vari dimensions of occupational status projections. However, they further s "In all cases, it was judged that the similarity of the ethnic groups significant than the variations existing among them (p. 142). More sp cally, they describe their findings as follows:

> In summary, the overview demonstrated that the three ethnic groups were generally similar in reference to aspiration levels, anticipatory deflection, certainty of expectation, and intensity of educational aspiration. On the other hand, substantial ethnic differences tended to occur in reference to level of expectation and for intensity of desire for occupational goals. These differences were due largely to Negroes maintaining higher expectation levels and Mexican Americans having a stronger intensity of desire for job goals. Females accounted for most of the marked ethnic variability." (pp. 142-144).

In summary, the studies of metropolitan youth reviewed, ranging i from 1958 to 1974 and including several widely separated regions of th States, generally indicated a lack of substantial ethnic differences i occupational status projections of teenage youth. The two nonmetropol studies reviewed, ranging from 1966-1967 to 1974 are particularly rele for our purposes because they used directly comparable instruments an as those used to produce our data sets and deal with youth residing i similar types of social areas. The findings of these two nonmetropol stuides generally indicate that rural youth from different ethnic grou

southwestern United States are more similar than different in their occ
tional status projections. At the same time, significant interethnic v
bility was observed as follows:

(1) Native American youth tend to hold lower level aspirations and expectations, and to experience more anticipatory goal deflection than do other youth.
(2) Blacks maintained higher expectation levels than others, particularly among girls.
(3) Mexican Americans, particularly females, had a stronger intensity of desire for job goals than others.

Our study will serve to test the general validity of generalizatio
that can be drawn from these few past studies. In addition, we can ext
the accumulated knowledge as a result of having the first set of direct
comparable data - in historical time, research operations, and type of
area - involving rural youth samples of Native American, Mexican Ameri
Black, and Anglo boys and girls.

The Study Populations and Data Collection

The data utilized for this study were collected from high school s
mores as a result of three separate but highly coordinated field effor
follows: Arizona Navajo youth, Spring of 1972; East Texas Black and W
youth, Spring of 1972; and South Texas Mexican-American youth, Spring
While the time lapse of one year between the collection of data on the
can American sophomores and that of the other ethnic groupings might h
produced a problem in comparability of the data sets, a recent report
findings on historical change in occupational projections of Mexican-A
youth from the study area involved here indicated little significant c
between 1967 and 1973 (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975).

Care was taken to insure that all data collection operati identical in the three separate field investigations by utilizing operations.[2] In each case all high school sophomores present in t selected for study on the day of the study were given questionnair immediately assured of the confidentiality of their responses. A interviewer read each item aloud giving the students enough time t their responses before proceeding. The questionnaires distributed with respect to the variables involved in this analysis (see Appen students not present on the day of the interview were not intervie descriptions of the study populations and data collection procedur reported previously in regard to each of these three field studies 1974; Stout and Edington, 1974; and Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975). Sti be of some use to the reader to have a brief sketch of the study a schools, and of the respondents in each case. This is provided be

Arizona Navajo Youth Study - 1972

Data were obtained from 170 Navajo boys and 215 Navajo girls w high school sophomores in five different high schools located in th reservation area of Arizona. All of the youth resided in rural, re economically disadvantaged areas. In each school almost all studen Navajo. Stout and Edington (1974:1-4) provide a more detailed desc of the socioeconomic conditions prevailing in this area.

East Texas Youth Study - 1972

Data were collected from high school sophomores attending 10 p high schools in three rural, nonmetropolitan East Texas counties du

Spring of 1972. A total of 493 youth were interviewed (Table 1).

Table 1. High School Sophomores Interviewed in Rural East Texas Study Area In 1972 by Race and Sex.

Race	Male	Female	Total
		No.	
Black	98	94	192
White (Anglo)*	148	153	301
Total	236	232	493

*The residual of the total sample once Blacks have been subtracted.

The three counties involved in this study - Burleson, Leon, and San Jacinto - were selected purposefully, using the following criteria: relative high proportion of Blacks and low-income families, predominantly or entirely rural, and location in a nonmetropolitan area not contiguous to a metropolitan one. Proportions of Blacks in the counties varied from more than one fourth the population in Burleson to more than forty percent in San Jacinto in 1969. The county with the highest median family income in 1969 (Burleson) was $3,000 below that of the state median family income of $8,490 in the same year (Dowdell, 1973).

South Texas Youth Study - 1973

Data were collected from sophomores attending 5 high schools in 3 nonmetropolitan South Texas counties adjacent to or in close proximity to the U.S.-Mexico border (Dimmit, Starr, and Zapata). The counties were purposively selected on following criteria: proportionately high concentration of Mexican Americans, a high frequency of family poverty, and predominantly rural, non-

metropolitan. We failed to gain the cooperation of two high schools in the study area. The schools' enrollment was predominantly Mexican American and only the Mexican American respondents will be utilized in this analysis (Table 2).

Table 2. High School Sophomores Interviewed in Rural South Texas Study Area in 1973 by Ethnicity and Sex.

Ethnicity	Male	Female	Total
Mexican American	178	201	379
Anglo	15	15	30
Other	5	2	7
Total	198	218	416
No Response			3

Overview of Study Populations

The data sets available from these three field investigations provide us with comparable information on occupational status projections on four different ethnic groupings of teenage boys and girls from three widely separated study areas sharing many important common attributes - predominantly rural, agricultural, nonmetropolitan areas that are relatively disadvantaged economically and which have high concentrations of an ethnic minority group present. Comparability is also adhanced by the short range of historical time involving data collection over the three field investigations - two were done in the Spring of 1972 and the other one a year later. An overview of the study populations by ethnicity and sex is provided in Table 3.

In conclusion, the high level of comparability of the data, historical period of study, and study areas provides us with the best opportunity that has existed, as far as we know, to investigate broadly inter-ethnic variability in occupational status orientations of rural youth.

Table 3. Overview of Study Populations by Area of Study, Ethnic Identity, and Sex.

	Ariz. - 1972	ET - 72		ST - 73	
	Navajo	Black	Anglo	Mex. Amer.	TOTAL
Male	170	98	148	178	583
Female	215	94	154	201	648
TOTAL	385	192	301	379	1,257

Analysis and Findings

Outline of Analysis

The primary objective of this analysis is to determine to what extent the four ethnic groupings of teenage youth involved differ in their occupational status projections by sex.[3] For each of the dimensions of occupational status projections specified earlier, we compare by sex the four ethnic groups involved. Chi Square tests are used in each case to determine whether or not any ethnic differences observed are statistically significant. In reference to all variables utilized, the "No Information" category was retained for analysis and included in statistical evaluations because of considerable ethnic variability on this in some cases.

Two measurement schemes are utilized in reference to the status object specified by the respondents for both aspirations and expectations. The initial set of categories, a modification of the Edwards Census scheme, is utilized to provide a basis for discerning variability in qualitative types of occupations and to facilitate comparison with other studies. In addition, these initial categories are collapsed into an ordinal scale made up of three

more inclusive "status level" categories (High, Intermediate, and Low) used to approximate social class (SES) distinctions.[4] (See Table 4.) Both of these measurement schemes are discussed in detail in Appendix A. The initial response categories are listed in Table 5, and the broken lines separating these into subgroupings indicate the content of the broader "level" categories derived by collapsing them.

As was mentioned before, instruments and measures for each status projection element considered are discussed in detail in Appendix A. These operations will be discussed at relevant points in the description of the findings.

Occupational Aspirations

Level of Status Goals

Several important interethnic differences of significance in the level of status goals exist among the males studied (Table 4). Most of these center around the Navajo youth - substantially fewer of them had high level job goals and more of them, almost one out of five, had low level goals and intermediate ones as compared with males of other ethnic groups. The other three ethnic groups demonstrated quite similar profiles of goal levels, with about 40 percent of each aspiring to high occupational status and relatively small proportions holding low level goals. Anglo males were more inclined to hold intermediate goals than Blacks or Mexican Americans, and Black youth had the second highest percentage of low level aspirations.

The general pattern of interethnic differences observed among the four female ethnic groupings was quite similar to that noted above for boys (Table 4). Navajo girls were markedly less inclined to indicate high goal levels, had by far the highest proportion with intermediate level goals, and

Table 4. Interethnic Comparison of Occupational Aspiration Levels by Sex.

Level of Aspiration	Males				Females			
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Ang
	%				%			
High	25	42	45	40	34	65	59	53
Intermediate	48	38	28	46	54	27	33	34
Low	19	7	12	7	9	3	6	11
No Information	8	14	15	7	3	5	2	3
TOTAL	100	101	100	100	100	100	100	101
NUMBER	170	170	98	148	215	197	94	153
	X^2 = 39.4 d.f. = 9 P = 0				X^2 = 54.07 d.f. = 9			P = <.0

the second highest percentage indicating low goal levels. Again, the Navajo girls obviously demonstrated a clear tendency to have lower level occupational status goals than the others. The Black and Mexican American groupings of gir had surprisingly similar goal level profiles, with the exception of the fact that Anglo girls were more likely to have low level goals. The Mexican-Americ girls had generally the highest level occupational goals - more than two out of three of them held high goals and very few held low level goals. In summary, the girls were clearly differentiated on ethnicity in reference to level of occupational status goals, with the Mexican-American girls having the highest level goals, the Navajo girls the lowest, and the other two ethnic types falling between these.

Some patterns of variation by sex are worth noting. Without exception, for every ethnic grouping a higher percentage of girls than boys held high occupational goals; and, conversely, with only one exception, fewer girls than boys within each ethnic type were judged to have low level aspirations. Also, girls were not as likely to withhold information in this regard as were boys.

Type of Occupational Aspirations

We now turn our attention to a comparison of the ethnic groupings in ter of more specific qualitative types of jobs, which can reveal intralevel varia bility and patterns of more particular qualitative variation among the four ethnic groupings (Table 5). Unquestionably there are significant and substantial interethnic differences observable in the particular types of jobs desired both within and across the more inclusive broad status level categori of jobs examined earlier.

Abstracting the most frequently selected job types aspired to by each ethnic type helps to show most of these patterns (Table 6). Among the male

Table 5. Interethnic Comparison of Type of Occupational Aspirations Indicated by Sex.

Type of Occupational Aspiration	Males				Females		
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black
	%				%		
1. High Professional	11	8	7	8	6	6	2
2. Low Professional	9	25	11	20	26	51	39
3. Glamour	5	9	27	12	2	8	17
4. Managerial	10	15	6	26	3	1	0
5. Clerical and Sales	0	3	3	1	41	20	23
6. Skilled	38	20	18	19	9	6	10
7. Operative	18	3	7	4	1	1	2
8. Laborer	1	4	5	3	7	2	4
9. Housewife	--	--	--	--	1	0	0
No Information	8	14	15	7	3	5	2
TOTAL	100	101	99	100	99	99	99
	$X^2 = 124.19$	d.f. = 24	P = 0		$X^2 = 106.42$	d.f. = 27	

Table 6. Interethnic Comparison of Types of Occupation Most Frequently Aspired to by Sex.

	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo
A. Males				
Rank				
1	Skilled Worker (38)	Low Professional (25)	Glamour (27)	Managerial (26)
2	Operative (18)	Skilled Worker (22)	Skilled Worker (18)	Low Professional (20) Skilled Worker (19)
B. Females				
Rank				
1	Cler. and Sales (41)	Low Professional (51)	Low Professional (39)	Low Professional (33)
2	Low Professional (26)	Cler. and Sales (20)	Cler. and Sales (23)	Cler. and Sales (29)

groupings considerable variability exists in the two job types most often desired: Mexican American boys disproportionately selected the operative and skilled job types; Blacks were the only ethnic type to frequently select glamour jobs, and Anglo boys selected the managerial category much more often than others. On the other hand, skilled blue collar jobs were on of the two top choices of every ethnic type. Turning our attention to the other end of the continuum of selection - jobs least desired - we again see ethnic variability (Table 5). Navajo youth were less likely than others to desire low professional, glamour, and laborer jobs. Mexican-American youth were less likely to aspire to operative jobs than Navajo or Black boys Black males were less likely to aspire to low professional and managerial jobs than most of the others.

Among the girls, much less ethnic variability was observed than for boys in types of jobs aspired to. This is due to the fact that two-thirds or more of the aspirations of each female grouping was accounted for by just two types of jobs - low professional and clerical and sales. The major ethnic differences observed among girls are as follows:

(1) All ethnic groupings except the Navajo selected the low professional category most often.

(2) The tendency of certain ethnic groups to disproportionately select or avoid particular types of jobs as follows:

1. Navajo girls markedly more often selected clerical and sales, and much less often aspired to glamour jobs.
2. Mexican Americans markedly more often selected low professional jobs.
3. Black girls more often selected glamour jobs, similar to what was observed for their male counterparts.
4. Anglo girls were the only ones to indicate a substantial proportion desiring marriage as a career.

Intensity of Aspiration

Intensity of aspiration pertains to the strength of desire associat with the occupational goal specified. Strength of intensity can vary inde- pendently of level of aspiration (high or low status goals). Due to the pro portionately high rates of "no response" evidenced among Navajo youth - boy and girls - on this element of aspirations, comparisons of this ethnic group with others must be made with caution (Table 7).

Among the male groupings the Mexican Americans had markedly stronger intensity of aspiration than other ethnic types - sixty percent of this grou indicated strong intensity and only three percent demonstrated weak intensit Black and Anglo youth demonstrated similar group profiles on strength of int sity; however, a substantially larger proportion of Anglo youth indicated str intensity of desire. As was mentioned before, the Navajo boys differed mark from others in their failure to respond to this question, = 16 percent were classified as giving no response. Assuming this "no response" does not in f cover respondents having "strong" desires for their occupational goals, the Navajo boys demonstrated in general much weaker intensity of aspiration than any other ethnic-sex grouping.

Among the female respondent groupings, the only ethnic difference of major significance centers on the Mexican American girls as compared with th others. The Mexican Americans demonstrated markedly stronger intensity of aspiration than others: 74 percent of the Mexican-American girls had stron intensity of desire for their occupational goals as compared with percentag ranging from 44 to 48 for the other three groupings. Black and Anglo femal groupings demonstrated almost identical distributions on intensity of aspir tions, and, the Navajo differed from them only in the high rate of "no resp they evidenced.

Table 7. Interethnic Comparison of Strength of Intensity of Aspiration by Sex.

Intensity of Aspiration*	Males				Females		
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black
	%				%		
Strong (1,2)	31	60	43	55	45	74	44
Intermed. (3,4,5)	41	36	43	36	38	20	40
Weak (6,7)	12	3	7	7	5	3	11
No Information	16	1	7	3	11	4	5
TOTAL	100	100	100	101	99	101	100
NUMBER	170	170	98	148	215	197	94
	$X^2 = 61.81$ d.f. = 9 P = 0				$X^2 = 66.06$ d.f. = 9		

*See Appendix B, Table 2 for comparison on original response scores (1 through

In summary, Black and Anglo boys and girls were quite similar in re to the strength of intensity of their aspirations. Mexican-American boy and girls indicated generally stronger intensity of aspirations relative their counterparts of other ethnic types. And, Navajo boys probably have on the average, a weaker intensity of aspiration than any other ethnic-s grouping examined.

Occupational Expectations

Level of Status Expectations

The extremely high rates of no response evidenced among Mexican-Amer and, to a lesser extent, among Black youth, hinder valid general comparis (Table 8). In fact, the ethnic variation in "no information" constitutes of the most substantial differences noted here. Still, one particular ob of marked ethnic variability stands out and is not likely influenced by t high no response rate - the relatively high proportion (28 %) of Navajo b having low level expectations. The expected occupational status level pr of the four male groupings demonstrate that, as was the case for aspirati Navajo boys generally anticipated lower level attainment than others; how the differences were not nearly as substantial in this case and were larg due to the high proportion of Navajo boys with low level job expectation

A comparision of Tables 4 and 6 clearly demonstrates a general lowe of status level as one moves from aspiration to expectation.* This is re in both lower proportions expecting high status attainment and higher pr tions anticipating low attainment levels as compared to aspirations.

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*For results of Chi Square evaluations of these differences, see A B, Table 1.

Table 8. Interethnic Comparison of Occupational Expectation Levels by Sex.

Level of Expectation	Males				Femal	
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.
	----------	----------	%	----------	----------	----------
High	26	33	28	25	25	43
Intermediate	41	32	36	46	63	27
Low	28	7	17	18	11	17
No Information	6	28	19	12	2	12
TOTAL	101	100	100	101	101	99
NUMBER	170	170	98	148	215	197

$X^2 = 93.41$ d.f. = 9 P = <.001 $X^2 = 96.22$ d.f.

Ethnic variability in occupation expectation levels among the girls studied are not as clearly patterned as was the case in reference to the tions. Two-thirds of the Navajo girls expected intermediate levels of j attainment, and they had the lowest proportional rate expecting low leve jobs. As was the case for aspirations, markedly more Mexican-American g anticipated high level job status, and, yet, a substantial proportion (1 percent) expected low level jobs. Black girls and White girls again dem similar profiles of expectation levels; however, White girls clearly hel somewhat lower level expectations on the average than the Blacks, or any grouping for that matter. The 35 percent of White girls with low level expectations stands out as a marked ethnic difference and is due to the number of girls expecting marriage as a career, although they did not as to this (Table 9). As was the case for boys, expectations were generally lower than aspirations (Compare Tables 4 and 6).*

Generally speaking, the patterns of sex difference noted for aspir level are also observable for expectation level; but, they are not as su tial.

Type of Job Expectations

It is clear that substantial variability existed among the four eth groupings for each sex in reference to the particular kinds of jobs they anticipated (Table 9). The patterns of difference observed here for boy very similar to those already reported for aspirations as can be seen in the most frequently anticipated job types (Table 10): Navajo boys are likely to expect to be operatives, Mexican Americans are more likely to

*For results of Chi Square evaluations of these differences, see A B, Table 1.

Table 9. Interethnic Comparison of Type of Occupational Expectations Indicated by Sex.

Type of Occupational Expectation	Males				Females			
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo
	%				%			
1. High Professional	8	5	8	5	2	2	1	2
2. Low Professional	15	21	10	14	22	35	25	21
3. Glamour	3	7	9	5	1	6	7	5
4. Managerial	9	13	6	21	3	1	2	1
5. Clerical Sales	3	1	8	1	46	22	28	21
6. Skilled Worker	28	19	21	24	14	4	7	6
7. Operative	22	2	11	7	2	0	3	1
8. Laborer	6	5	6	10	6	4	4	4
9. Housewife	0	0	0	1	2	13	14	31
No Information	6	28	19	12	2	12	9	9
TOTAL	100	101	98	100	98	99	100	101

$X^2 = 106.79$ d.f. = 4 P = 0 $X^2 = 137.23$ d.f. = 27 P = 0

low prestige professional jobs, and Anglo boys, to anticipate managerial positions. Also, as was true for aspiration, all grouping of boys indicated skilled workers among the two most frequently expected types. However, for expectations this tended to be the most frequent job type mentioned - for aspirations it was more often the second. Black youth demonstrated a markedly lower indication of glamour type jobs for expectation than they did for aspiration - while they had the highest percent expecting glamour jobs, they differed little from most other groupings in this regard. Black males also differed from others in the following ways: they less frequently expected managerial and low professional jobs, and substantially more frequently expected clerical-sales jobs. Anglo boys indicated a greater tendency to expect unskilled labor jobs and Navajo youth were less inclined to expect glamour jobs. Mexican-American boys were markedly less inclined than others to expect the operative type, and were markedly different from Navajo boys in this regard.

As was true for aspirations, the patterns of ethnic variability in types of expectation tended to be fewer among girls than boys (Table 9). The patterns observed are quite similar for expectations as those reported earlier for type of aspiration (see Table 5). There was a marked increase in proportion of girls anticipating marriage as a career, as compared with those aspiring to this, and, conversely, a marked general decrease in expectations for low professional type jobs as compared to aspirations.

Certainty of Expectation

Certainty of expectation represents the equivalent for status expectations of intensity of desire relative to status aspirations. Given a specification of an occupational status anticipated, this element represents the respondents' orientation or feelings of certainty about actually being able to attain this job status.

Table 10. Interethnic Comparison of Occupational Types Most Often by Sex.

	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo
A. Males				
Rank				
1	Skilled Worker (28)	Low Professional (21)	Skilled Worker (21)	Skilled Worker (24)
2	Operative (22)	Skilled Worker (19)		Managerial (21)
B. Females				
Rank				
1	Clerical and Sales (46)	Low Professional (35)	Clerical and Sales (28)	Housewife (31)
2	Low Professional (22)	Clerical and Sales (22)	Low Professional (25)	Low Professional (21) Clerical and Sales (21)

A clear and consistent pattern of ethnic differences exist in reference to relative certainty of occupational expectation regardless of sex (Table 11). Navajo and Anglo youth are much more likely to feel relatively certain about attaining their anticipated jobs than are Mexican Americans and particularly Blacks. Black youth demonstrated the lowest rates of relative certainty of any ethnic type - less than 1 out of 3 of the Black females and males felt relatively certain about attaining the jobs they expected. Mexican-American girls, also, approached this rate of indicated uncertainty.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection

Anticipatory goal deflection is conceptualized as a distinctly separate dimension of occupational status projections, representing the relationship between status specifications for a subject's aspiration and expectation. Theoretically it is postulated that a status aspiration is often modified in light of the subject's realistic evaluation of impedements existing to prevent achievement of his status goal, producing a status expectation that diverges from aspiration. We are interested in two aspects of this - frequency of occurrence of anticipatory goal deflection and the direction of the divergence between aspirations and expectations in terms of prestige when it does occur.

Forty percent or more of each of the four ethnic groupings of teenage boys experienced anticipatory deflection from their occupational aspirations: the job they expected to attain was different from the one they desired (Table 12). Generally, the deflection was "negative" (expectations were lower than aspirations). Again, the high "no response" rate for occupational expectations is reflected here and seriously hinders making useful comparisons.[5] However, it does appear that Navajo youth experience less negative goal deflection

Table 11. Interethnic Comparison of Proportion of Respondents Feeling Relatively Certain about Attainment of Expected Occupation.

Ethnic Group	Male *	Female *
	% "Very Sure" or "Sure"	
Navajo	58	49
Mex. Amer.	45	38
Black	30	31
Anglo	50	54

*Differences among ethnic distributions on dichotomized responses ("Relatively Certain" and "Relatively Uncertain") are statistically significant at the .05 level of P. Relatively Certain consisted of "Very Sure" and "Sure" responses and all other responses were grouped as relatively uncertain (See Table 3 in Appendix B.).

Table 12. Interethnic Comparison of Rate and Nature of Occupational Goal Deflection by Sex.

Type of Goal Deflection	Males				Females		
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black
	%				%		
None	58	47	42	59	63	52	48
+	14	9	10	4	12	7	14
-	18	15	25	24	22	26	29
No Information	11	29	23	14	4	15	10
TOTAL	101	100	100	101	101	100	101
NUMBER	170	170	98	148	215	197	94

$x^2 = 37.08$ d.f. = 9 P = <.001 $x^2 = 37.20$ d.f. = 9

than others. This seems reasonable given the fact that they had markedly lower aspiration levels than the others to begin with.

Among the female ethnic groupings, the Navajo youth experienced less goal deflection than others: only one-third of the Navajo girls as compare with about half of each other grouping experienced goal deflection. Most o the goal deflection experienced by all types of girls was negative in direc tion, as was observed for males earlier. For the most part, the Mexican American, Black and Anglo girls were quite similar in the profiles on rate occurrence and nature of anticipatory deflection, except that the Anglo gir experienced a markedly higher rate of negative deflection. This later observation is due to the large proportion of Anglo girls indicating marri as a career expectation, while at the same time they aspired to a particul job career (see Table 9).

In summary, relatively constant high rates of anticipatory deflection experienced by all eight ethnic-sex groupings, ranging from 37 percent to 58 percent. For most groupings, roughly one out of every two respondents perienced deflection. In general most of the deflection was negative in meaning that expectations were lower than aspirations. The two substantia ethnic differences observed were the low rate of deflection experienced by Mexican-American girls (and to a lesser extent, their male counterparts) an the relatively high rate of negative goal deflection experienced by Anglo g

Male-Female Differences

While it was not our specific objective to examine patterns of sex variability in this analysis, male-female differences have been so striking in reference to some aspects of occupational status projections, we decided to focus on them briefly. Obviously, another perspective on ethnic variabi

can be gained in the process. Do the ethnic populations examined differ in th nature of the patterns of variability by sex observed?

The most dramatic patterns of sex variation observed was in terms of the specific qualitative types of jobs selected as the objects for aspirations and expectations (see Tables 6 and 10). Results of Chi Square tests indicate that these differences are statistically significant at the 0 level of P: there is no probability they are due to chance (see Table 4, Appendix B). The pattern of differences are quite similar for both aspirations and expectations and are remarkably consistent across all ethnic types. Many fewer girls than boys selected skilled, managerial, and operative job types for either type of status projection. Conversely, almost no boys selected clerical and sales jobs or expected to be housewives. Also, fewer boys than girls were inclined to select lower prestige professional jobs. In summary, the patterning of differences by sex was very strong and consistent in reference to types of occupations indicated for aspirations and expectations. Some jobs (i.e., clerical and sales, and lower professional) were apparently likely to be seen as "female jobs" by the respondents and others (i.e., skilled blue collar) as "male jobs."

In Table 13, we have presented a summary overview of sex differences for each ethnic type relative to the other aspects of occupational status projections examined in our analysis. Only in one case was a lack of ethnic variability in sex difference noted - in reference to aspiration level where girls were observed to consistently hold higher goals than boys. In reference to level of expected occupational status, Navajo and Mexican-American girls demonstrated higher levels than boys, Anglo youth demonstrated a converse pattern, and Black boys and girls did not differ. Navajo and Black boys and girls did not differ in the rate of anticipatory deflection experienced

Table 13. Summary Overview of Male-Female Differences by Ethnic Group

	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo
Aspiration Status Level	F > M	F > M	F > M	F > M
Expectation Status Level	F > M	F > M	None	M > F
Anticipatory Goal Deflection (Rate of Deflection)	None*	M > F	None*	F > M
Intensity of Aspiration	F > M	F > M	None*	None*
Certainty of Expectation (Relatively Certain)	M > F	None*	None*	None*

*Differences are not statistically significant at the .05 level of P (See Table , Appendix B).

but Mexican-American and Anglo youth demonstrated converse patterns of sex variability. Pertaining to intensity of aspiration, sex differences were not observed among Black and Anglo youth; however, among both Mexican-Americ and Navajo youth, girls tended to have stronger desires for their specified than did boys. For degree of certainty about attaining expectations, only Navajo youth demonstrate a sex difference - males were inclined to be certai more often than were females.

In summary, significant sex differences existed for most aspects of occupational status projection - certainty of expectation being an exceptio In some cases - types of jobs desired and expected and level of aspiration - nature of sex differences were remarkably consistent and did not vary by eth type. On all other dimensions of occupational status projection, ethnic variability of some kind was observed. It should be noted that the patterns of sex differences observed to consistently cut across all ethnic types tend to be more substantial than those for which ethnic variability in sex patte was noted. Also, Black youth differed from other ethnic types in that they less frequently exhibited differential sex patterning.

Summary of Findings

Interethnic Differences

Interethnic differences of considerable magnitude were observed in ref ence to every aspect examined for both boys and girls where valid conclu- sions could be drawn from the comparative analysis (Table 14). A very consistent general pattern of ethnic variability could be observed in refer ence to the two dimensions of occupational aspirations examined. Navajo youth maintained the lowest level of aspirations and demonstrated the weake

intensity of desire for these among the four ethnic types. And, c sely Mexican-American youth generally had the highest and strongest int ty of aspirations among the groupings. In reference to level of aspirati , the most significant difference centered around the markedly lower level goals of the Navajo youth (Table 15). For males, the other three types differed little in this regard and for females, the Mexican-American girls clearly had higher level aspirations than others. Relative to intensity of aspiration, the major differences were centered around the markedly larger number of Mexican-American boys and girls having strong desire and, among the boys only, the relatively small proportion of Mexican-American youth with strong desire for their occupational goals (Table 16).

As was the case for aspirations, Mexican Americans demonstrated higher level status expectations than others, and the Navajo youth had generally lower level expectations (Table 14). However, in reference to level of expectation, Anglo youth held expectations at a level similar to that of Navajo youth; in fact, Anglo females had low level expectations much more frequently than any other grouping (Table 15). In reference to degree of certainty felt about actually attaining occupations anticipated, a general pattern of ethnic variability cutting across sex existed as follows: Navaj and Anglo youth were markedly more often relatively certain than were Black youth and Mexican-American youth were in an intermediate position - N, A > MA > B (Table 14). The most substantial general difference in reference to certainty of expectation was the much higher proportional rate of relative uncertainty experienced by Black youth as compared with others (Table 16).

Table 14. Summary Overview of Nature and Magnitude of Interethnic Differences Observed by Sex on Dimension of Occupational Status Projections.

	Males		Females	
	Nature of Dif.	Magnitude of Dif.	Nature of Dif.	Magnitude of Dif.
Level of Aspiration	B, MA > A > N	Strong	MA > B > A > N	Strong
Intensity of Aspiration	MA > A > B > N	Strong	MA > A, B, N	Strong
Level of Expectation	MA > B > A, N*	_____	MA > B, N > A	Strong
Certainty of Expectation (Relative Certainty)	N > A > MA > B	Strong	A > N > MA > B	Strong
Anticipatory Goal Deflection (Occurrence)	B, MA > N, A*	_____	B, A, MA > N	Moderate

*Adequate comparisons hindered by high, variable rate of no response.

Table 15. Summary Overview of Proportions of Respondents Holding High and Low Lev
Aspirations and Expectations by Ethnic Type and Sex.

	Males				Females	
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.
	%				%	
High Level						
Aspirations	25	42	45	40	34	65
Expectations	26	33	38	25	25	43
Low Level						
Aspirations	19	7	12	7	9	3
Expectations	28	7	17	18	11	17

Table 16. Summary Overview by Ethnic Type and Sex on Proportions of Respondent Intensity of Aspiration, Having Relative Certainty for Attainment of and Experiencing Anticipatory Goal Deflection.

	Males				Femal	
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.
	----------%				----------%	
Strong Intensity of Aspiration	31	60	43	55	45	74
Relative Certainty of Expectation	58	45	30	50	49	38
Rate of Occurrence* of A G D	42	53	58	41	37	48

*Adequate comparison among males is hindered by high, variable no respons

In general, except for Navajo youth, ethnic-sex groupings demonstrated divergence between their specified aspirations and expectations (Table 16). The one marked ethnic difference that seems clear in this regard is that Navajo youth experienced less anticipatory deflection than others; however, their rate of AGD was still high, about 40 percent on the average (Tables 14 and 16).

Patterned ethnic variability by sex was found to exist in specifc types of job careers emphasized or relatively ignored. Each ethnic type, particularly among boys, seemed to have somewhat unique tendencies of this sort as summarized in tabular form below:

Table 17. Disproportionation in Selection of Job Types among Respondents by Ethnicity and Sex.

	Disproportionately Selected	Disproportionately Ignored
A. Boys		
Navajo	Skilled Worker	Low Professional, Glamour, Labor
Mex. Amer.	Operative	Operative
Black	Glamour Jobs	Low Professional, Managerial
B. Girls		
Navajo	Clerical and Sales	Glamour Jobs
Mex. Amer.	Low Professional	_____
Black	Glamour Jobs	_____
Anglo	Housewife	_____

These patterns of variability in type of job focus have obvious implications for educators and youth counselors, which will be discussed later.

Also, these particularistic ethnic preferences provide insight into ethnic differences concluded to exist in other respects. For instance, it seems clear that the lower level aspirations and expectations of Navajo boys and their lower rate of anticipatory deflection is due largely to their strong focus on skilled, blue collar jobs. Obviously, this is still a high aspiration of attainment for them relative to the jobs of their parents - they are still upwardly mobile. Similarly, the Anglo boy preference for managerial jobs, coupled with our operational decision to place this type in the "intermediate" status level rather than the "high" level, influenced the results. For the girls, the tendency for Anglo youth to expect to be housewives largely explains their relatively "low level" expectations and their high rate of anticipatory deflection.

In summary, the ethnic differences of greatest magnitude observed in the study involved particularistic ethnic tendencies to select different specific types of jobs as status objects for their status projections.

Significant differences existed by sex within each ethnic grouping studied for all aspects of occupational status projection except certainty of expectation (see Table 13). What is more, significant ethnic variability existed in the nature of patterns of sex differences in reference to occupational expectation level, intensity of aspiration, and anticipatory goal deflection. On the other hand, strong differences by sex observed for types of aspiration and expectation and level of aspiration were consistently patterned across all ethnic types: females demonstrated generally higher level occupational status projections.

Ethnic Similarities

Given the traditional inclination of sociologists to look for and give predominant attention to intergroup differences and given the potential negative impacts of easy interpretations of such differences for some groups involved (Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975), we would like to give special attention to interethnic similarities observed. Often there are abstract patterns of similarity of major significance apparent in comparative analysis even when substantively significant differences have been observed at more specific levels of analysis. Given the major patterns of ethnic variation that have already been noted, the following general patterns of ethnic similarity existed:

(1) For all ethnic types, a relatively small proportion indicated low level aspirations and expectations indicative of a lack of desire for vertical social mobility.

(2) Large proportions of all ethnic types desired high level goals, almost or more than half in most cases, indicative of desires for dramatic upward mobility for most of these youth.

(3) Similar patterns of similarity were observed among the ethnic groups in reference to expectations as those just noted for aspirations; however, proportions at the "high level" were smaller and those at the "low level," greater. This means that for all ethnic groups, expectations were generally lower than aspirations.

(4) Very small proportions of each ethnic grouping of youth demonstrated weak intensity of aspiration. What is more, almost in every case a near majority or majority of each ethnic-sex grouping indicated strong intensity of desire for their goals.

(5) Large proportions of each ethnic group indicated "relative uncertainty" about attainment of their occupational expectations - ranging from 42 percent of Navajo males to 70 percent of Black boys and girls.

(6) Very large proportions of all ethnic groupings exhibited anticipatory goal deflection, ranging from 58 percent of Black boys to 37 percent of Navajo girls.

(7) In every case most of the anticipatory goal deflection was negative - expectations were lower than aspirations.

(8) Similar patterns of sex-specific choices for projections of long-term occupational status existed.

In summary, it can be concluded that at a more abstract level of consideration, a number of important general patterns of ethnic similarity existed, even given the large number of more specific ethnic differences noted.

Discussion and Implications

Empirical Implications

Our findings lend support and extend the scope of generalization of the conclusion reached from the two earlier tri-ethnic studies reported (Kuvlesky, et al., 1971; Edington, et al., 1975) that substantial ethnic differences exist in some aspects of the occupational status projections of rural youth. Of particular importance in this respect is the identical patterns of Native American differences as compared with others observed in this analysis and from the more recent study reported by Edington and his colleagues; in both cases the Native American youth demonstrated lower level occupational aspirations and less anticipatory goal deflection than other youth.

The New Mexico study (Edington, et al., 1975) found that Mexican-American youth and Anglo youth did not differ significantly in level of occupational aspiration, while the earlier (1966-1967) Texas study found that Mexican-American youth tended to have higher occupational aspirations than other youth. Our results are similar to the earlier Texas findings, which is not surprising since the data on the Texas data set used here was collected on youth of the same age and from the same study areas, as was the earlier Texas study. It may well be that Mexican-American youth located in different areas do vary to some extent in the general profiles of occupational projections they maintain. Only more future research embracing more diverse study populations can provide evidence to determine this.

Our research findings are congruent with past research in supporting the following generalizations about the similarity of occupational projections of different types of rural youth, and metropolitan youth as well:

(1) Most youth aspire to jobs indicative of upward social mobility; however, some ethnic minorities have higher

aspirations than the dominant Anglo, some have similar levels, and some have lower levels.

(2) Anticipatory occupational goal deflection rates are high and mostly negative in direction, because many - sometimes most - youth have status expectations lower than their aspirations.

(3) Intensity of desire associated with occupational aspirations is strong, indicative of a high valuation of job goals relative to other life ends.

(4) Large proportions of youth are relatively uncertain about actual attainment of the jobs they really expect to attain.

Also, although past evidence does not universally support this, our evidence indicates that for all ethnic types, sex differences in level and type of aspirations are marked and persist to a substantial but lesser extent for expectations as well. Significant sex variation is not generally evident in intensity of aspiration, certainty of expectation, or anticipatory goal deflection relative to occupational status projections.

Our study provides some relatively unique capabilities for extending the accumulated empirical knowledge in this problem area as follows:

(1) By comparison with the earlier (1966-1967) Texas study, our findings produce evidence that the nature and magnitude of ethnic differences may be changing.* This certainly should indicate a need for caution in utilizing studies done at different points in historical time for interethnic comparative analysis.

(2) Other studies have not examined interethnic patterns in particular qualitative job types - usually the responses are transformed into an ordinal scale and mean scores are used for interethnic comparisons. Our findings clearly indicate unique ethnic patterns in aspirations and expectations for particular jobs, especially among males. Obviously, future research should be structured to examine this, and past research might be re-analyzed in such a way to look for this patterning.

(3) Our examination of selection of particular qualitative types of jobs by sex, also turned up significant sex-specific patterns of aspirations and expectations.

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*See Appendix B, Table 5.

> Other research has not been analyzed or reported in such a way as to provide a basis for evaluating the scope to which this result can be generalized. At the same time, the fact that the patterns observed cut across all of the four diverse ethnic types studied, leads to the inference that this is a very general pattern, at least among rural youth.

The comparison of our findings, along with that of the other two studies of nonmetropolitan youth (Kuvlesky, et al., 1971; Edington, et al., 1975) with the three studies of metropolitan youth reviewed earlier (see pp. 6-7) suggests that ethnic variability exists to a much greater extent in rural areas and small urban places than in metropolitan areas. This is an intriguing finding, especially since we know from past research that metropolitan youth generally have slightly higher aspirations and expectations than do rural youth. Given the concern for "cultural pluralism" in our society today, future research would do well to examine how general and inclusive this tendency is.

Theoretical Implications

The findings from this analysis indicate quite clearly that both similarities and substantial differences existed among the four ethnic groupings of rural youth involved. It can be concluded that Merton's proposition that all kinds of youth in the United States have high success goals was apparently supported for these youth, if one takes into consideration the fact that most were disadvantaged and were projecting upward intergenerational mobility. At the same time, Navajo youth clearly were not aiming as high as other ethnic types of youth and had substantially more youth with low level goals. Thus, it can not be concluded that all four ethnic groupings demonstrated similarly high aspirations for status attainment, at least in reference to occupation.

The relatively high rate of negative anticipatory goal deflection existing among all groupings produced expectations that were generally lower than aspirations, indicating support for the notion that many youth were "realistically" lowering their estimates of attainment relative to the status levels they desired. This offers strong evidence in support of the notion that many youth can and do differentiate between aspirations and expectations. Furthermore, it clearly implies that many perceive impedements - in themselves or in their opportunities - to achievement of their hopes and dreams.

The generally high level of intensity of desire these youth indicated for occupational aspirations, relative to other life goals, indicates that they place high personal value on achieving these goals. Yet, many do not expect match their aspirations or not, large proportions feel relatively uncertain about the actual long-run attainment of their anticipated life-time job careers. Somehow, it would be difficult to see how the cognitive model sketched above, could lead to anything other than a rather dismal view of how well these youth are going to adjust as adult citizens in our society. Certainly, it would seem to be both substantively and socially productive to begin examining through longitudinal panel studies whether or not, or to what extent, these cognitive orientations toward the future, and, the fact of whether or not they are realized, influence personality adjustment, social adaptation, and a variety of aspects of social or antisocial behavior.

The ethnic differences observed here, and to some extent in the few other studies providing interethnic comparisons among rural youth, are very interesting in their potential theoretical significance. Certainly, there is no clear linear pattern generally observed in reference to relative dis-

advantage, as much of the past theoretical reasoning and inferences from m
past research (largely done on White youth) have proposed. If there was,
Mexican-American youth would not have been equal to or higher than Anglo
youth in level of aspiration and expectation as has been consistently fou
nor would Anglo girls be more inclined to experience a greater downward
modification of aspirations in terms of expectations than others as we fo
they did. The fact that both Black and Mexican-American youth
maintained high level aspirations similar to those of Anglo youth and sim
ly high intensities of desire for their occupational goals argues against
often proposed notion that ethnic minority youth are exposed to subcultu
values different from those in the larger culture in such a way as to inh
motivations for upward social mobility. This assertion is also challenge
by two other observations from our analysis, indicating that the minority
ethnic groupings are not exposed to a more traditional "folk" type cultur
than the Anglo (White) majority - the fact that Anglo females were more
frequently oriented to the housewife role as a vocation than the others,
and the fact that the marked sex-linked ("sexist") patterns of status obj
selection for occupational aspirations and expectations cut across all et
types.

The strong patterns of ethnic differences observed in our study in
reference to almost every dimension of occupational status projection,
particularly in reference to the unique ethnic tendencies for selection o
specific, particular types of jobs among males, indicates some basis for
arguing that ethnically distinct subcultures exist, at least, in some
respects. The evidence seems clear from our study that the ethnic group
are apparently being exposed to different socialization influences in re
ence to vocation and in some ways are getting different estimates of the

chances to attain the aspirations and expectations they have. We need a theoretical formulation of this process specifically oriented to variabi in socialization processes and in perceptions of social reliability that more refined and elaborate than the simple, gross "subculture" thesis mo of us rely on now. The notion of markedly different subcultures (ethnic minorities vs. the majority) does not hold up in light of our findings, least in terms of the way it has traditionally been formulated. In addi it tends to ignore the marked variability existing within each ethnic gr and the dramatic sex-linked differences common to all ethnic groups.

It can be inferred from a comparison of our findings with those of the interethnic comparisons of metropolitan youth reviewed earlier (Craw ford, 1975; Venegas, 1973), that metropolitan influences may produce a l ing effect on intergroup variability in occupational status projections. this mean that "ethnic distinctiveness" is or can be more easily maintai in rural and small urban settings? If so, why? These are questions re- quiring theoretical reflection and ones worthy of more research attentio given their potential social import.

Policy Implications

It is sometimes hazardous for social scientists to speculate at len on the possible inferences of their research results for practical conce At the same time, we are convinced that our research, together with the other research reviewed here, offers some clear general guidelines fo those who would set general social or educational policy for rural and minority young people, or for those desiring to assist these youth through e cational or social action programs. We will briefly describe the more i portant of the implications we perceive.

First, it is clear that most of the minority youth studied, regardless of ethnicity, aspire strongly to be upwardly mobile and that many of them perceive this aspiration to be blocked to them. Consequently, most of these youth do not suffer from a lack of motivation for social mobility. Their problem is how to make the connection between their aspirations, a reasonable program for attaining them - including self-development, gaining social skills, and specialized training, and then finding opportunities for occupational achievement. At the same time, there are some youth (particularly Navajo boys) who have low level aspirations - maybe some of these youth originally had high ambitions and later gave up as a result of perceived bleak possibilities. At any rate, it seems clear that because of the variability within ethnic groups and strong patterns of differences among them in terms of occupational orientations counselors and teachers need enlighten themselves on their students' own perceptions of career needs and help them work out individual programs to achieve their goals.

It seems abundantly clear that it would be a strategic error to try to develop a general all-inclusive program of career counseling and education to fit all ethnic types of rural youth. Their orientations, perceived need and problems vary in patterned ways. For instance, it seems clear that special attention needs to be directed to helping Black youth find ways to increase their feelings of certainty about their future prospects for occupational attainment. What are the alternatives? To admit their prospects are bleak and can not be altered, or to have them adapt to anticipated failure in traditional ways? Of course, we might say the same for the large proportion of all other ethnic groupings of youth who experience this sense of uncertainty about their job futures.

Just to agitate the feminists to some thought, we might suggest that

the relatively high proportions of teen-age girls expecting careers as wives, even though they desire job careers for the most part, indicate need to encourage these girls to study home economics in school. Spea more seriously, we think that counselors ought to become aware of this patterned tendency for anticipatory goal deflection, and try to help t many young women struggling through this problem in personal identific and traditional sex-role patterning. The clear and consistent sex-spe patterning of occupational choices may indicate a need to open both gi and boys' eyes to possible job alternatives they are apparently exclud almost automatically from consideration.

In summary, the schools, parents, youth workers, program manager and policy makers need to become more sensitive to the subjective orie tions of the individual young person if we are in fact concerned with ing them to develop their full potential as productive human beings. of aggregates of any youth - by ethnicity for instance - will not do a with the complex diversity of any one grouping. It will only serve as lazy pretense to cover it.

Footnotes

1. Very recently evidence has been reported indicating ethnic variabi might exist in the nature of historical change in occupational sta projections of the three ethnic youth populations from Texas utili in this study. Comparison of results on analysis of patterns of h torical change (1967-1973) for Mexican-American sophomores (Kuvles and Monk, 1975) with those of Black and White sophomores over a si six year period (Kuvlesky and Stanley, 1976) indicate that the Mex American youth changed little while Black and Anglo youth experien a general but slight lowering of levels of aspiration and expectat and a marked decline in certainty of expectation. This evidence s warn against comparison of ethnic types studied at different point time. It also indicates that ethnic differences in status project might well be changing over time.

2. The South Texas and East Texas studies were carefully standardized carried out by the same research team led by Dr. Kuvlesky. Larry Stout made several trips to meet with the research team at Texas A University to insure that comparability of instruments and data co procedures existed betweeen his study of Navajo youth and the Tex studies. The Navajo data was processed by the Texas A&M Universit research team under the codirection of Stout and Kuvlesky.

3. Past evidence on the status projections of the Texas youth involve here from earlier studies indicate that sex differences were ofte substantial (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968; Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1971).

4. We established the "High" and "Low" levels first, utilizing conse tive standards (i.e., skilled blue collar was not classified as "H and managerial was not classified as "High"). The "Intermediate" level was a residual category, including all other types. An argu ment can be made that the managerial category should have been pla in the "High" category - it traditionally is in studies of this ty Also, a question can be raised about the reasoning in including "housewife" in the "Low" status level. Questions have been raise before about this decision and Kuvlesky has vacilated in the past treatment of these responses. However, it is our judgement that in terms of the subjective meaning of housewife as an occupationa career held by the girls studied, it is viewed as an equivalent t "unskilled labor." Note the tendency for the girls studied here be deflected from aspirations for job careers to expectations to become a housewife.

5. The high rate of no response, particularly among Black male respon may not be simply interview resistance. The high rate of uncerta regarding actual occupational attainment (discussed later) may fi with this tendency. It could be that many youth are so uncertain about their actual career prospects or opportunities that they fe completely unable to project themselves a decade into the future.

Appendices

Appendix A: Instruments and Measures

Types and Levels of Status Projections

Occupational aspirations were elicited from respondents with th
ended question, "If you were completely free to choose any job, what
you most desire as a lifetime kind of work?" Responses were coded i
modified census classification of occupations which represents a hei
occupational prestige as follows:

	Occupational Aspiration Types	Occupational Aspiratio
1.	High Professional (doctor, lawyer, scientist)	High
2.	Low Professional (teacher, registered nurse)	
3.	Glamour (pro ball, pop singer, pilot)	
4.	Managerial (executive, run a store)	Intermediat
5.	Clerical and Sales (typist, secretary)	
6.	Skilled (carpenter, foreman, auto mechanic)	
7.	Operative (machine operator, bus driver)	Low
8.	Unskilled (waitress, farm worker)	
9.	Housewife	

[1] In establishing these approximations to the often used three
social class heirarchy often presumed to exist in our society, we
"Managerial" in the "Intermediate" level category to make sure we w
servative in setting the boundaries of the "High" level, even thoug
gerial is usually considered as a high SES job. Housewife is place
"Low" level because it was our judgement that this represents - as
tional career - the equivalent of unskilled labor in the subjective
tions of the respondents.

Occupational expectations were determined from the open-ended question, "What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life?" Expectations were measured using the same categories and levels described above for aspirations.

Anticipatory goal deflection from occupational aspirations is a measure of the divergence or convergence of aspirations and expectations. If both fell in the same category, anticipatory goal deflection was classified as none. If the expectation was in a higher category than the aspiration, anticipatory goal deflection was classified as positive (+), and if in a lower category than aspiration, it was classified as negative (-).

Intensity of Aspirations

Intensity of aspiration refers to the strength of desire associated with the status object of an aspiration. We inferred this from the degree of importance respondents attached to the attainment of a particular status aspiration relative to six other presumably valued life goals. An instrument that forced the respondent to produce a heirarchy of valuation among seven life goals (as specified previously in their status aspiration responses) was utilized to obtain a measure of valuation. The rank score for a job goal was then used as an indicator of degree of intensity of occupational aspiration. The instrument is replicated below:

"Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important, check number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one, check number 2, and so on until you have a number checked for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question. (Check only one number beside each sentence and check each different number only once).

Order of importance to you

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Having lots of free time to do what I want
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	To develop my mind and get all the education I want
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	To earn as much money as I can
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Getting the job I want most
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Living in the kind of place I like best
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Having the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	To get married and raise a family

CHECK YOUR ANSWER! You should have each number checked only once and a single number should be checked for each statement.

This operation produces a scale of intensity (rankings) ranging from 1 to 7. These were then grouped into "levels of intensity" categories as follows:

High	(1,2)
Intermediate	(3,4,5)
Low	(6,7)

A test-retest reliability check indicates that the broader "level of intensity" categories have greater reliability than the initial specific rank scores (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1975).

Certainty of Expectation

Certainty of expectation refers to the degree of certainty each respondent had regarding the attainment of his occupational expectation. A forced choice stimulus question was used to elicit degree of certainty relative to occupational attainment. The question used is replicated below:

"How certain are you that this is the job you will have most of your life? I am: (Circle one number.)"

1	2	3	4	5
Very Sure	Sure	Not Very Sure	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

A test-retest reliability check on the response measures indicate higher reliability when the initial response categories are grouped as follows (Kuvlesk and Lever, 1975):

Relatively Certain	Relatively Uncertain
1	3
2	4
	5

Appendix B: Supplementary Tables

Table 1. Summary of Results of Chi Square Tests on Differences between Types of Aspiration and Expectations Indicated for Each Ethnic-Sex Grouping.

	Male*			Female		
	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P
Navajo	17.73	8	.023	10.12	9	.341
Mex. Amer.	13.87	8	.086	46.84	9	0
Black	12.33	8	.138	26.51	9	.002
Anglo	15.93	9	.069	43.92	9	0

*The "Housewife" category was not included for purposes of the Chi Square computations when no respondent indicated this as an aspiration or expectation.

Table 2. Interethnic Comparison by Sex of Proportion of Respondents Indicating Different sity of Aspiration Scores.

Intensity of Desire	Males				Females		
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black
	----------%----------				----------%----------		
1 (Strong)	11	18	9	18	8	11	13
2	19	42	34	37	37	63	31
3	19	17	10	20	19	12	15
4 (Interm.)	14	10	17	12	12	5	16
5	8	9	15	5	7	3	10
6	6	2	5	3	4	2	5
7 (Weak)	7	1	2	3	2	1	5
No Information	16	1	7	3	11	4	5
TOTAL	100	100	99	101	101	101	100
N	170	170	98	148	215	197	94

Table 3. Interethnic Comparison by Sex of Proportion of Respondents Indicating Different Deg of Certainty of Attainment of Specified Occupational Expectation.

Degree of Certainty*	Male				Female			
	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Ang
	%				%			
1. Very Sure	18	14	11	20	18	5	16	2
2. Sure	41	31	18	30	32	33	15	3
3. Not Very Sure	29	39	51	30	44	45	48	2
4. Uncertain	5	9	7	11	5	10	14	1
5. Very Uncertain	2	6	2	1	2	3	4	
No Information	5	9	10	7	1	5	3	
TOTAL	100	99	99	99	102	101	100	10
N	170	170	98	148	215	197	94	15

*Categories # 1 and # 2 were grouped into a more inclusive "Relatively Certain" category analysis and categories # 3, # 4, and # 5 were grouped and labeled "Relatively Uncertain." T more inclusive dichotomy has been found to be more reliable than the more specific initial me ment categories (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1975).

Table 4. Summary of Chi Square Test Results of Sex Differences by Ethnicity on Dimensions of Occupational Status Projections.

	Navajo			Mex. Amer.			Black			Anglo		
	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P	X^2	d.f.	P
Type of Aspiration	162.1	9	0	99.9	8	0	55.4	8	0	112.2	9	0
Level of Aspiration	15.9	3	.002	22.0	3	<.001	13.4	3	.004	7.8	3	.05
Type of Expectation	109.8	9	0	121.1	9	0	51.7	9	0	127.7	9	0
Level of Expectation	28.1	3	0	22.1	3	<.001	4.9	3	.18	16.3	3	.001
Intensity of Aspiration	11.4	3	.01	13.5	3	.004	1.0	3	.80	3.6	3	.30
Certainty of Expectation	14.0	2	.001	5.6	2	.06	3.8	2	.15	5.1	2	.08
A G D	6.7	3	.08	16.2	3	.001	6.8	3	.08	8.8	3	.03

Table 5. Summary Comparison of Interethnic Patterns of Difference in Occupational Status Projections Elements between 1966-1967 Texas Study and 1972-1973 Texas Study.

	1966-67 Study[1]	1972-73 Study[2]
A. Males		
Aspiration Level	MA, A > B	B, MA > A
Expectation Level	None	MA > B > A
AGD	None	B, MA > A
Intensity of Aspiration	MA > A > B	MA > A > B
Certainty of Expectation	A, B > MA	A > MA > B
B. Females		
Aspiration Level	None	MA > B > A
Expectation Level	B > MA, A	MA > B > A
AGD	MA, A > B	None
Intensity of Aspiration	MA > B, A	MA > A, B
Certainty of Expectation	A, B > MA	A > MA > B

[1]Taken from report by Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez (1971: Table 2).

[2]Abstracted from Table 14 of this report.

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